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ABSTRACT

Using stepwise multiple regression, voting behavior was predicted from semantic differential scale evaluations of the winning candidate in four voting situations: the 1972 Presidential race in Illinois and Missouri and the gubernatorial races in the two states. "Image" was defined in terms of the semantic differential scales, and "image voters" were defined in terms of the accuracy of the vote prediction. The four sets of communication variables were amount and type of campaign information each respondent claimed to receive from media and interpersonal sources, perceived influence of information sources, believability of media and interpersonal sources, and perceived usefulness of the sources for seeking political information. The findings suggest that while certain instances of "television image voting" were isolated, the phenomenon does not seem to be a general rule in assessing voting behavior. Party loyalty and political party preference was the largest factor relating to how people voted in all four voting situations. The prediction of vote from semantic differential scales was weak and it is suggested that the semantic differential scales be reassessed. (Author/TS)

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MEDIA USE, CANDIDATE IMAGE, AND VOTING: A TEST OF 'NEW POLITICS' EMPHASIS ON TELEVISION

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Abstract

Media Use, Candidate Image, and Voting: A Test of 'New Politics' Emphasis on Television

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Using stepwise multiple regression, vote was predicted from semantic differential scale evaluations of the winning candidate in four voting situations. Vote was predicted for the 1972 Presidential race from a sample in Southern Illinois and a sample in St. Louis Co., Missouri; vote for the winner in the gubernatorial races in the two states was also predicted. The samples consisted of 245 registered voters in three Southern Illinois counties and 172 registered voters in suburban St. Louis County.

From the residuals for the four regression analyses, three vote groups were generated for each vote situation: those for whom the scales produced an over-prediction (Over-Predictors), those for whom the scales produced an under prediction (Under-Predictors), and those for whom the scales produced a good vote prediction (Image Voters.) "Image," therefore, was defined in terms of the semantic differential scales, and Image Voters were defined in terms of the accuracy of the vote prediction based on the image.

Sixteen multiple discriminant function models were applied as a means of examining the voter groups (generated from the regression analyses) on four sets of communication variables. The four sets of communication variables were: (1) amount and type of campaign information each respondent claimed to be receiving from media and interpersonal sources, (2) perceived influence of information sources, (3) believability of media and interpersonal sources, (4) perceived usefulness of the sources for seeking political information. The multiple discriminant analyses were stepwise models which maximized the Mahalonobis distance between the two closest groups.

Only five of the 16 discriminant function analyses permitted a television Image Voter interpretation. Two of the image outcomes involved the Presidential race in Illinois; these concerned the source influence and the information seeking models. In the Illinois gubernatorial race, the believability and the source influence models were interpreted as containing television image functions. In Missouri, only the perceived usefulness of sources for seeming political information in the gubernatorial election provided a television image function.

The findings suggest that, while certain instances of "television image voting" were isolated, the phenomenon does not seem to be a general rule of thumb in assessing voting behavior. In the two gubernatorial contests political party preference accounted for a greater proportion of vote than any other element. Party loyalty appeared even stronger in the presidental voting with more than 90 per cent of the Republicans in each state indicating they would vote for Richard Nixon. Prediction of vote from the semantic differential scales was weak, reaching no better than chance levels in the Missouri gubernatorial contest. None of the bipolar adjectives was a significant predictor in all four analyses. The need to reassess the semantic differential scales appears obvious. Further a better differentiation of Image Voters might be obtained by isolating voters who are dependent upon specific media for most of their political information.

During the past 10 years there has been a wave of books discussing a development in the American political process known as "the new politics." The term has little standard meaning and can be variously interpreted as (1) a two-way communication process that is presumed not to have existed in the past, (2) a manipulative communication process reminiscent of the old hypodermic needle formulation of mass communication effects, (3) a marketing strategy in which candidates are packaged and sold much the same as soup and cigarettes, and (4) a voting outcome in which the emphasis is placed on voters who vote a split ballot.

None of the classifications above are mutually exclusive, and all include in greater or lesser amounts (1) increased emphasis on candidate stand on issues rather than appeals to party loyalty and (2) voter perceptions of candidates in terms of personal characteristics or "images" regardless of what the candidates do or say in terms of "issues."

All the foregoing implies that issue stands, perception of candidates, and political campaign communication are not what they were in past decades. Additionally, in discussion of the "new politics" there are frequent invocations to the computer and worried comments about the effects of public opinion polls on the integrity of political candidates and their backers. However, it might be suggested that the most important component of the "new politics" has been the invention of the term itself. "New politics" implies something different, but there is little to suggest that anything is different in the underlying process irrespective of the differences in hardware evolution over the past 20 years.

Some aspects of the "new politics school seem to be a return to the long discredited hypodermic needle approach to mass communication in which powerful mass media, primarily television today, literally force the voter to vote for specific candidates. While the empirical documentation for these communication forces is missing, substantial lip service is given to this presumed power, much

of which comes from persons employed (or formerly employed) by the mass media. One refreshing contradiction to the "new politics" rhetoric comes from David Broder (3) who has pointed out that the indictment of the "old politics" sounds remarkably like the contemporary commentary of Perry (25) and others who are, perhaps, hypercritical of modern election campaign processes. Perhaps nostalgia and a lack of concrete information about the past have lulled many writers into assuming, as do so many of us, that the "good old days" were generally safer for honest political institutions. Then again, as one wag put it, the good old days are largely the product of a poor memory.

Whatever, political campaign planners, the computer, and television are all condemned or praised by "new politics" writers, and MacNeil (18), among others, specifies one of the primary concerns.

> Television <u>is</u> the Machine through which American people are now reached, persuaded and nominally informed more extensively and homogeneously than ever before. (p. ix, emphasis in the original)

Development of the candidates' image is a central theme throughout the "new politics," but the hasty judgment of television-is-the-reason is likely to be not only misleading, but wrong. As Lang and Lang (17) noted, most citizens are probably not capable of making technically competent decisions about candidates based on issues. "Images" may well be necessary if voters are to make choices at all among the many candidates for office. Yet, political candidate "images" should not be considered something that is only a product of "new politics" candidate merchandising. Perhaps nowhere is the public's response to political campaigns in terms of personal attributes of candidates better illustrated than by findings reported by Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. (4) They reported that in 1952 (the year in which the Federal Communication Commission lifted the freeze on construction of television stations) SRC respondents gave 5,133 references to personal attributes of Eisenhower and Stevenson; 3,162 of the

references were to Eisenhower, and 1,971 of the references were to Stevenson. The number of favorable references outnumber the number of unfavorable references for both candidates at a rate of about 2.5 to 1. In 1956 the total number of references to personal attributes of the candidates increased by only 176, to 5,309. The ratio of favorable to unfavorable responses for Eisenhower remained at about 2.5 to 1 while the number of unfavorable responses for Stevenson increased dramatically and accounted for 53 per cent of all personal references to the Democratic candidate.

At the same time, the references to the two candidates in terms of political party totaled only 965 in 1952 and declined to 485 in 1956. Thus, there were 5.3 times as many personal as party references in 1956. Further, the number of party references declined by half (from 965 to 487) from 1952 to 1956 while there was only a marginal increase in personal attribute references. These data show a marked decrease in party references and a very small increase in personal references over the two campaigns. This suggests that the candidates are becoming relatively more important as a function of the decline of party orientation rather than in terms of any quantum leap in the emphasis on candidates as such. And, this drop in party orientation occurred at the very beginning of what we might call the political television era.

The manufacture of political candidate images is not restricted to television. Grabor (10) concluded that the often contradictory and negative content of newspaper coverage of campaigns may enhance any public tendency to evaluate candidates in terms of personal qualities or party labels. The fault of image-making, if it is a fault, may not lie so much with the candidates and the public as with the media that give the impression that personal characteristics are more important than professional qualities. Nimmo, Mansfield, and Savage (23) suggest the need for exploration of image trait assignment both in terms of open-

ended trait perception and in terms of a priori characteristics. In their analysis of SRC data, Nimmo and his associates found that except for McGovern, Wallace, and Goldwater, party adherents gave overall favorable responses about their party's candidate. These findings coincide with those of Jahoda (13) who found that respondents attribute favorable traits to members of their own party even if they are unfamiliar with the politicians being evaluated.

Evaluation of political candidates on a priori traits as measured by semantic differentials has been conducted in a number of studies. (2,8,12,15,20,26,28) Yet the use of semantic differential scales raises questions about which bipolar adjectives will provide the most appropriate evaluations of any given candidate. Stricker (28), in one of the earliest predictions of vote based on semantic differential scales, reported successful predictions in 91 per cent of the cases where voters reported an initial candidate preference, but he was unsuccessful in predicting vote from semantic differential evaluations when respondents were initially undecided between candidates. Miller (20) accounted for 92 per cent of the vote decisions of his respondents.

Nonetheless, semantic differential images of candidates may prove useful in isolating voters who do vote on the basis of attributed personal characteristics of candidates from voters for whom candidate characteristics are less important than political party membership or issue position. The image voters, if we are to believe the rhetoric of the "new politics," should be heavy users of television, and the images these voters have developed as a function of using television as their primary, if not exclusive, source of political information should be a good predictor of voting behavior. We should be able to work backwards, so to speak, from vote and image to information sources.

Yet, for all the popular emphasis placed on TV images since the 1960 confrontation between Nixon and Kennedy, few data have been presented to substantiate the

claims that candidates can be merchandised via television. There is a substantial record of failure in the image merchandising business. As White (31) noted:

> 1970 . . . was one of those years when everybody came out and said television is the answer and all we've got to do is get a whole bunch of tape and buy some time and we'll all get elected. But it isn't necessarily so. (p. 55)

The successes and failures suggest that the nature of the images and their importance may vary drastically from election to election and from office to office and from locale to locale within any election period. While the image may be a prime consideration in some races, it may well give way to other considerations in other races.

Just what is meant by "image" is also open to interpretation. Dyson and Scioli (7) treat issue positions as part of candidate image and show that varying amounts of information shifts voters from one candidate to another. Hinckley, Hofstetter, and Kessel (11) include personal characteristics, issues, and party within the rubric of candidate image. DeVries and Tarrance (6), among others, consider image construction and image voting as a way of avoiding entangling party associations that can be damaging to a candidate. Other writers, such as Evry (9), consider candidate personality as the only important variable in voting decisions.

In keeping with what we take to be the popular conceptualization of "image" our analysis will utilize semantic differential evaluations of the candidate as the definition of candidate image. At the same time, we recognize that the image as measured by a set of bipolar adjectives is unlikely to be totally uncontaminated by how the voter views the candidates' political party affiliations and whatever the voter knows, or thinks he knows, about the candidates' issue positions. To further complicate such evaluations, Schweitzer and Ginsburg (27) have demonstrated that different terms are used to describe sources to which we impute greater or lesser degrees of trust. Whatever the medley, the semantic differential ratings

do provide one definition of candidate image, and a relatively easy one to obtain at that. It is an image measure that readily permits a test of the relationship, presumed or real, between media use, candidate image, and voting behavior.

METHOD

Data were collected via personal interviews from 245 registered voters in three rural Southern Illinois counties and from 172 registered voters in suburban St. Louis County, Missouri, during the two week period just prior to the 1972 general election. In Southern Illinois, 77 of the respondents had participated in a similar study of the 1972 Illinois primary election and had been chosen at random from affidavits filed at the time they received their ballots to vote in the primary. The remainder of the Southern Illinois respondents were chosen at random from current registered voter lists in the three counties.

In St. Louis County, which includes much of the suburban area around the city of St. Louis, but not the city proper, a block sampling technique was utilized. Census blocks were drawn at random and interviewers were given a specified number of interviews to complete within each census block. While the total sample sizes are 245 for the Southern Illinois sample and 172 for the Missouri sample, the exact number of cases in any analysis will vary due to exclusion of cases with missing data.

To explore the relationships between candidate image and voting we began with images as measured by 12 semantic differential scales. The semantic differential scales were on a seven point continuum with the middle position serving as the neutral position. Using the 12 scale evaluation of the winning candidate as the predictor variables we attempted to predict vote, as reported by the respondents, in a stepwise multiple regression model. From the residuals we generated three vote groups: those for whom the scales produced an over predic-

tion (Over-predictors), those for whom the scales produced an under prediction (Under-predictors) and those for whom the scales produced a good vote prediction (Image voters). Our criterion for a good prediction was any residual falling between plus and minus 0.5 standard deviations of the mean residual. Residuals in excess of plus 0.5 standard deviation were defined as under predictions and residuals in excess of minus 0.5 standard deviation were defined as over predictions. Thus, the "image" is defined in terms of the semantic differential scales, and Image voters are defined in terms of the accuracy of the vote based on the image.

Once the three voter groups were defined, we attempted to discriminate among them on the basis of four stepwise multiple discriminant models. The first model assessed the relationship between voter groups and the amount and type of campaign information each respondent claimed to be receiving from a variety of media and interpersonal sources. The second model attempted to discriminate among the groups on the basis of believability of media and interpersonal sources. The third model assessed perceived influence of the sources, and the final model assessed the perceived usefulness of the sources for seeking political information. The questions, modified Likert items using a five point continuum, and response alternatives are given in notes to tables 1-5. Included in each model were items regarding the respondent's age, political party identification, and strength of political party affiliation. Political party identification was defined by three alternatives, Democrat, Republican, and Independent. The categorical value assigned to each party was 1, 2, or 3, respectively. Strength of party affiliation was assessed by the use of a seven point continuum, the value of one indicating a weak affiliation and seven a strong affiliation. Each of the four models was tested in four vote situations. Two situations involved Richard Nixon as the winning candidate utilizing voter samples from three

counties in rural Southern Illinois and from suburban St. Louis County, Missouri. The other situations were evaluations of and vote for governor of Illinois and governor of Missouri using the same respective voter samples. The gubernatorial winner in Missouri, Christopher Bond, was a Republican while the winner in Illinois, Daniel Walker, was a Democrat. The multiple discriminant analyses were stepwise models which maximized the Mahalonobis distance between the two closest groups. (21)

For each significant function we examined the discriminant coefficients to determine which variables were contributing to the function and whether the contribution was positive or negative. At the same time we examined the magnitude and sign of the group centroids for the three voter groups. Our primary interest was in determining if television was a strong contributor to each significant function, and if it was, was the sign of the coefficient (positive or negative) the same as the sign of the group centroid for the Image voters. If the answer to both questions was "yes" we credited the "new politics" philosophy with a "victory," so to speak. In all, there were 16 analyses with outcomes that could be classified as: (1) no significant discriminant functions, (2) one or more significant functions but television was not a substantial contributor to the function(s), (3) one or more significant functions with television as a substantial contributor but the Image vote group was not associated with the function, (4) image voters were associated with one or more significant functions that did not include television, and (5) one or more significant functions with television as a substantial contributor to one or more of the functions and the Image vote group strongly associated with the function and the sign on the television variable's discriminant function coefficient and the sign on the Image voter group centroid were identical. Only in the case of outcome (5) would we have evidence for a <u>television Image voter</u>. We defined a substantial coefficient on any function as a value of plus or minus 0.25 or more.

FINDINGS

Predicting the vote

The four regression analyses each utilized 12 semantic differential scales to predict the respondents' reported vote. The evaluations used were ratings of the winning candidates in each race. Statistically significant proportions of variance were accounted for in each of the four analyses ($p < .01$), but in the two gubernatorial analyses the proportions were quite low, 27.44 per cent in the Illinois race and 22.37 per cent in Missouri. These percentages were just slightly more than one half the variance accounted for in the presidential analyses.

Only two of the 12 scales were significant predictors in the Illinois gubernatorial analysis--qualified-unqualified and calm-excited. Alone, these scales accounted for 26.03 per cent of variance. Only one scale, sincere-insincere, was a significant predictor of vote in the Missouri gubernatorial analysis, and it accounted for only 17.97 per cent of total variance. (Table 1)

In the Illinois presidential analysis, three scales accounted for significant proportions of variance (47.08 per cent). The scales were honest-dishonest, sincere-insincere, and friendly-unfriendly. In the Missouri presidential analysis three scales--sincere-insincere, qualified-unqualified, spender-saver--accounted for 41.19 per cent of the variance.

We also wanted to determine what proportion of vote could be correctly classified based on the semantic differential image of the winning candidate. While proportions of variance accounted for are important in the analysis of candidate evaluation, these proportions do not translate easily into vote. The classification was based on the predicted scores from the regression analysis rather than the residuals that were used to create the Image and non-Image voter groups. Since the criterion measures were a dichotomy, '1' if Republican and

'2' if Democrat, the distance between the two scores was halved and a voter was assigned a vote for a Republican if the predicted score was less than 1.5 and a vote for the Democrat if the predicted score was 1.5 or greater. On the basis of this simple classification we were able to correctly predict the vote of 78 per cent of the respondents.

While 78 per cent correct may seem to be a respectable proportion to successfully predict from our relatively crude dichotomy, it falls 10 percentage points short of the results of a yet simpler system of counting the number of favorable and unfavorable references voters made about candidates and parties as outlined by Kelley and Mirer. (14)

Across all four analyses, the Image voters were drawn in roughly similar proportions from the three party preference groups. Of all Democrats, 32.2 per cent fell in the Image voter group along with 34.8 per cent of the Republicans, and 39.9 per cent of the Independents. Of those who were Image voters, 43.1 per cent were Democrats, 24.5 per cent were Republicans and 32.4 per cent were Independents. Of the two samples, 45.4 per cent of the Illinois voters said they were Democrats, 27.8 per cent said they were Republicans, and 26.9 per cent said they were Independents. In Missouri, 42.7 per cent said they were Democrats, 18.2 per cent Republicans, and 39.2 per cent Independents.

Respondents' reported voting intention indicated 68.9 per cent of the Missouri and 72.4 per cent of the Illinois Democrats intended to vote for George McGovern while 96.2 per cent of the Missouri Republicans and 96.7 per cent of the Illinois Republicans intended to vote for Nixon. Of the Independents, 53.6 per cent of those in the Missouri sample and 44.8 per cent of the Illinois sample said they would vote for Nixon. In the Illinois gubernatorial contest, 89.5 per cent of the Democrats, 20.3 per cent of the Republicans, and 72.4 per cent of the Independents intended to vote for the winning Democratic candidate. In Missouri, 85.5 per cent of the Republicans, 20.6 per cent of the

Democrats, and 55.2 per cent of the Independents indicated they would vote for the winning Republican candidate. It is interesting to observe that nearly identical proportions of Illinois Republicans and Missouri Democrats crossed party lines to vote for the winning gubernatorial candidate.

In comparison with vote intent reports, the predictions based on the regression analysis assigned 55.45 per cent of the Illinois voters as Nixon voters while 52.13 per cent indicated they intended to vote for Nixon. It was predicted that 55.07 per cent of the Missouri voters would vote for Nixon while 52.17 per cent indicated they would. In the Illinois gubernatorial race we predicted 78.08 per cent of the vote for Democrat Daniel Walker, the winner; 65.75 per cent indicated they would vote for Walker. In the Missouri gubernatorial race we predicted a 50-50 split while 43.3 per cent of the voters indicated they were going to vote for Republican Christopher Bond, the eventual winner.

The regression analysis demonstrated one basic problem we noted above, the problem of selecting appropriate scales for a priori trait analysis when the scales must be used to evaluate different candidates in different contexts. None of the 12 scales was a significant predictor in all four analyses. Sincere-insincere was a significant predictor in three analyses, qualified-unqualified was significant in two analyses, and the scale pairs calm-excited, honest-dishonest, and spender-saver were idiosyncratic to single evaluations. Thus, it seems the images of the three candidates were quite different and even within samples (Illinois or Missouri voters) different scales were used to evaluate different candidates. Whether the within-sample differences were a function of the candidate, or the office, or both cannot be determined from the present analyses. To further confound the issue, only one scale, sincere-insincere, was significant in predicting Nixon vote in both samples. Illinois voters saw

the scales honest-dishonest and friendly-unfriendly as important candidate traits while for Missouri voters qualified-unqualified and spender-saver were more important traits for Nixon.

Discrimination Among Voter Groups

Of the 16 analyses (four candidates by four questions) five outcomes were isolated in which the relationships permit a television Image voter interpretation. Two of the Image outcomes involved Nixon in Southern Illinois, two involved the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in Illinois, and one involved the Republican gubernatorial candidate in Missouri. None of the outcomes for Nixon in Missouri were image interpretations, and in three of those four analyses no significant discriminant function was found. In one analyses an image function was isolated, but the function discriminated between the Over-predictors and Under-predictors rather than between Image voters and the other groups. In that analysis the contribution of television was negative on the function. One additional analysis, source believability for the Nixon analysis in Illinois, produced a significant function that contained some aspects of an image structure. However, the relationships among the contributing variables appeared to be inconsistent and the function was uninterpretable. This apparent image function was the weaker of two and accounted for 32 per cent of the variance.

The classification procedure in the multiple discrimination analysis correctly classified 54 per cent of the Image voters across the five analyses. Twenty per cent were misclassified as Over-predictors and 26 per cent were misclassified as Under-predictors. Of the original Over-predictors, 55 per cent were correctly classified, 21 per cent were misclassified as Image voters, and 24 per cent were misclassified as Under-predictors. Of the original Under-predictors, 54 per cent were correctly classified, misclassified 21 per cent as Image voters, and 25 per cent as Over-predictors. Across the 16 analyses the

classification procedure correctly classified 54 per cent of the Image voters. Twenty-five per cent were misclassified as Over-predictors and 22 per cent were misclassified as Under-predictors. Of the original Over-predictors, 56 per cent were classified correctly, 21 per cent were misclassified as Image voters, and 23 per cent were misclassified as Under-predictors. Of the original Under-predictors, 51 per cent were correctly classified, 23 per cent were misclassified as Image voters and 26 per cent as Over-predictors.

Nixon in Southern Illinois

Two of the four analyses isolated image functions, source influence and information seeking. Summaries are given in Tables 6 and 7 and plots of the group centroids are given in Figures 1 and 2.

Source Influence.--The image function is the second and weaker of the two functions and accounts for 33 per cent of the variance. The primary discrimination is to separate the Image voters from the Over-predictors. Variables with positive coefficients on the function are age, perceived influence of television news, and perceived influence of candidates; public officials have a negative coefficient on the image function. The Image voters have higher mean scores on perceived influence of television and the perceived influence of political candidates and a lower mean on perceived influence of public officials than do the other two groups. Image voters' age is almost as high as that of the Under-predictors (about two years less) and substantially higher than the age of the Over-predictors (about six years).

The first function, the non-image function, accounts for 67 per cent of the variance and clearly separates the Under-predictors from the Image voters and the Under-predictors. This function is primarily due to political party preference; more than 75 per cent of the Under-predictors are Democrats. Under-

predictors are also significantly older than the Over-predictors and have a significantly higher level of strength of party affiliation than do the Under-predictors. Radio news and radio advertising also contribute (news negative, advertising positive) to the first function. Under-predictors have the lowest score on influence of radio news and the highest score on the influence of radio advertising. However, all groups have mean scores below the neutral point on the scale (3.0) on radio news and radio advertising. The Under-predictors simply appear to reject radio less than do the Image voters and the Over-predictors.

The classification analysis correctly classified only 49 per cent of both the Image voters and the Over-predictors while correctly classifying 66 per cent of the Under-predictors.

Information Seeking.--Two functions discriminate among the groups. The first and strongest function, accounting for 65 per cent of the variance, differentiates most clearly between Under-predictors and Over-predictors. (Table 8 and Figure 3) The Under-predictors are Democrats with high strength of party identification. They see friends as being more useful as sources of political information than do Over-predictors, and they see newspapers as less useful for seeking political information than do Over-predictors. The function is clearly not a television image dimension.

Substantial contributions to the Image function, which accounts for 35 per cent of the variance, are made by television news, news magazines, newspapers, and public officials. Television news and news magazines have positive coefficients on the function while newspapers and public officials have negative coefficients. Image voters, who are differentiated from Over- and Under-predictors, see television news and news magazines as relatively more useful for seeking political information than do the other two groups. Image voters also view newspapers as relatively less useful for seeking political information than do

the Over- and Under-predictors. None of the groups sees public officials as useful sources of political information, and the Image voters reject public officials more strongly than do the others.

The classification analysis correctly classified 47 per cent of both the Image voters and the Over-predictors and 70 per cent of the Under-predictors.

Illinois Governor

Two of the four analyses isolated image functions, for source believability and influence of source. Summaries are given in Tables 8 and 9, and plots of the group centroids are given in Figures 3 and 4.

Believability.--Both functions can be interpreted as image functions although only the second, and weaker, function is clearly associated with the Image voters. The first function, accounting for 61 per cent of the variance, discriminates primarily between Over-predictors and Under-predictors. Positive coefficients with the function are shown by age, believability of television, and political party identification. However, the television variable has a weaker association with the first function than it does with the second function. Believability of newspapers is negatively associated with the first function, although none of the three groups reject the newspaper. The Over-predictors can be described as Republicans who are older, who believe television more and reject newspapers more than do Under-predictors.

The second function, accounting for 39 per cent of the variance, separates Image voters from Over-and Under-predictors. Television makes its strongest contribution to this function, and the Image voters tend to be Democrats who have the highest score of any group on the television variable. The newspaper variable is not associated with the second function. It seems worth noting that in this analysis both Republicans and Democrats place high believability in

television and the Republicans tend to down-grade the believability of the newspaper while the Democrats do not.

The classification analysis correctly classified 53 per cent of the Image voters, 60 per cent of the Over-predictors, and 44 per cent of the Under-predictors.

Source Influence.--Two functions separate the three groups. The first function accounting for 67 per cent of the variance, is an image function. (Table 9 and Figure 4) Television news has a strong positive coefficient on the function while the perceived influence of television advertising has a negative coefficient. These Image voters are Democrats who say they are influenced by political news on television but not by political advertising on television.

The second function, accounting for 33 per cent of the variance, differentiates the Under-predictors from the Image voters and the Over-predictors. The Under-predictors are younger and claim that radio news, radio advertising, television advertising, and political candidates all have less influence on them than do the Image voters and Over-predictors. The classification process correctly classified 60 per cent of the Image voters, 52 per cent of the Over-predictors and 46 per cent of the Under-predictors.

Missouri Governor

One analysis provided a significant Image function, that for the perceived usefulness of sources for seeking political information. That one function accounted for 80 per cent of the variance in the information seeking anaylsis. A summary of the analysis is given in Table 9 and the group centroids are plotted in Figure 5.

Age, television, and strength of political party affiliation have positive coefficients on the function while newspapers and party identification have

negative coefficients. These Image voters, who are most clearly differentiated from the Over-predictors, are older, they are Republicans who identify strongly with their party, and they attribute high usefulness to television news as a source of political information. They feel newspapers are less useful than do the other groups for seeking political information, although all three groups view newspapers as "useful."

The classification analysis correctly classified 60 per cent of the Image voters, 65 per cent of the Over-predictors, and 42 per cent of the Under-predictors.

DISCUSSION

In sum, it appears that we have been able to identify instances of what we defined as "television image voting," but the outcomes indicate that the phenomenon is probably not the rule in voting behavior. It is clear from our data that political party preferences override images in large measure. While we included only 56.9 per cent of the Illinois Republicans and 42.3 per cent of the Missouri Republicans in our presidential Image voter groups, 96.7 per cent of the Illinois Republicans and 96.2 per cent of the Missouri Republicans said they would vote for Nixon. In the Illinois gubernatorial analysis we included only 61.5 per cent of the Democrats in the Image voter group while 89.5 per cent of the Democrats said they were going to vote for the Democratic candidate.

Of the 16 analyses, three produced no significant discriminant functions among the sets of communication variables. In the 13 analyses in which significant discriminant functions were found, only 6 of the 19 functions were interpretable as television image outcomes. However, before reaching any conclusions about "image voting," some of the problems encountered in the analyses

should be reviewed. As was evident, the semantic differential scales used were inadequate. This should not be considered a condemnation of semantic differential techniques but of the failure to select a set of bipolar adjectives that would adequately measure the images of the candidates. While the scales did account for statistically significant proportions of voting variance, the outcomes also remind us that statistically significant proportions of variance are not necessarily of practical use. This was particularly true for the two gubernatorial analyses.

The small amounts of variance in the Missouri gubernatorial contest produced two outcomes that point to the problem of inadequate scales. First, the small proportion of variance accounted for (17 per cent) permitted us to define only 17 voters as Image voters (Table 5), only one third the number isolated in the Missouri presidential analysis. As such, there were relatively few individuals in the Image group with which to work. There were, however, barely sufficient numbers to permit use of the multiple discriminant analysis. Tatsuoka (29) suggests that the smallest group in the analysis must contain at least as many cases as there are variables. In the Missouri gubernatorial analysis there were 17 image voters while the number of variables in the largest set was 15. No image functions were found in that analysis.

The problem became evident again when we predicted a 50-50 vote split between Republican and Democratic candidates for Missouri governor. While we erred substantially in the proportion of vote for the Illinois gubernatorial winner, we were at least able to pick the winning candidate. This again shows the lack of discriminating power of the set of semantic differential scales used to judge the candidates. It also indicates the relative importance of even small increases in total variance, from the 17 per cent in Missouri to the 26 per cent in Illinois, in permitting any prediction. In both cases in-

volving Nixon, our error in predicting the proportion of vote was substantially smaller than in the case of the two gubernatorial races. In the regression analyses of presidential vote in Illinois and Missouri, the proportions of variance accounted for by the semantic differential scales was almost twice that accounted for in the Illinois gubernatorial contest. And, the error in predicting the presidential vote in Illinois was only 3.32 percentage points and in Missouri the error was 2.90 points. By contrast, we overpredicted the Illinois gubernatorial vote for the winner by almost 13 percentage points. In the Missouri gubernatorial contest our null decision was in error by nearly seven percentage points. In view of the poor performance of the semantic evaluations we do not consider these analyses an adequate test of the procedure or the image voter question.

Future research might examine the usefulness of different sets of bipolar adjectives in political candidate image analyses. It may well be that the most appropriate scales can be readily found among those Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (24) described as best defining the major dimensions of meaning.

The analyses also indicate differences in image voting and communication behavior from rural (Southern Illinois) to suburban (St. Louis Co.) populations. Of the six significant image discriminant functions, five were generated from the rural sample. Trotter and Huey (30) report that the reliance on television as a source of political information increases as one moves from urban to rural settings. This suggests that image voting needs to be assessed in terms of rural vs. suburban locale. This could also be indicative of the difficulty in selecting semantic differential scales to evaluate candidate image in different audience settings. However, the differences appear not so much in the responses to semantic evaluations of political candidates as in media use. The scales performed about equally well, or poorly as the case may be, in the

rural and suburban areas. However, our analyses have lumped television dependent and newspaper dependent people into a single group to predict vote and then attempted to sort out those image voters who have relied on television. The assumption was that if the rhetoric of the new politics was indicative of the strength of television, the evaluations would be sufficiently different to give television users the better estimate of vote in the prediction equation. While we did, in fact, find six instances in which the television image voter appeared, better differentiation of Image voters might be obtained by first isolating voters who are dependent upon specific media for their political information. There may be a television image voter and a newspaper image voter. Both may have clear "images" that influence the vote but the images may also cancel each other out when the groups are combined in a single analysis.

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TABLE 1

Semantic Differential Scales Accounting for Significant Proportions of Variance in Predicting Vote from Image of the Winning Candidate.

Predictor Variables	Multiple R	RSQ	Simple R
Walker (Illinois)			
All scales	.5238	.2744	
Qualified-unqualified	.4915	.2416	.4915
Calm-excited	.5101	.2602	.2962
Bond (Missouri)			
All scales	.4729	.2237	
Sincere-insincere	.4239	.1797	.4239
Nixon (Illinois)			
All scales	.6862	.4708	
Honest-dishonest	.6306	.3976	-.6306
Sincere-insincere	.6646	.4417	-.6059
Friendly-unfriendly	.6742	.4546	-.4438
Nixon (Missouri)			
All scales	.6616	.4377	
Sincere-insincere	.6103	.3725	-.6103
Unqualified-qualified	.6276	.3938	-.4959
Spender-saver	.6418	.4119	-.0316

TABLE 2

Predictor Group By Respondent Party Identification for Nixon Image Voter Analysis in Southern Illinois

Group		Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Total
Under Predictors	n	46	2	13	61
	r%	75.4	3.3	21.3	
	c%	49.5	3.4	22.8	29.3
Good Predictors	n	26	33	26	85
	r%	30.6	38.8	30.6	
	c%	28.0	56.9	45.6	40.9
Over Predictors	n	21	23	18	62
	r%	33.9	37.1	29.0	
	c%	22.6	39.7	31.6	29.8
Total		93	58	57	208
		44.7	27.9	27.4	100.0

Chi Square = 36.49; $p < .005$

TABLE 3

Predictor Group By Respondent Party Identification for Walker Image Voter Analysis in Southern Illinois

Group		Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Total
Under Predictors	n	44	6	30	80
	r%	55.0	7.5	37.5	
	c%	43.6	10.5	51.7	37.0
Good Predictors	n	48	16	14	78
	r%	61.5	20.5	18.0	
	c%	47.5	28.1	24.1	36.1
Over Predictors	n	9	35	14	58
	r%	15.5	60.3	24.2	
	c%	8.9	61.4	24.1	26.9
Total		101	57	58	216
		46.8	26.4	26.8	100.0

Chi Square = 59.93; $p < .005$

TABLE 4

Predictor Group By Respondent Party Identification for Nixon Image Voter Analysis in St. Louis County

Group		Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Total
Under Predictors	n	24	1	16	41
	r%	58.5	2.5	39.0	
	c%	43.6	3.8	29.6	30.4
Good Predictors	n	20	11	20	51
	r%	39.2	21.4	39.2	
	c%	36.4	42.3	37.0	37.7
Over Predictors	n	11	14	18	43
	r%	25.6	32.6	41.8	
	c%	20.0	53.8	33.3	31.9
Total		55	26	54	135
		40.6	19.4	40.0	100.0

Chi Square = 14.50; $p < .01$

TABLE 5

Predictor Group By Respondent Party Identification for Bond Image Voter Analysis in St. Louis County

Group		Democrats	Republicans	Independents	Total
Under Predictors	n	33	5	20	58
	r%	56.9	8.6	34.5	
	c%	62.3	20.0	37.0	43.9
Good Predictors	n	7	3	7	17
	r%	41.2	17.6	41.2	
	c%	13.2	12.0	13.0	12.9
Over Predictors	n	13	17	27	57
	r%	22.8	29.8	47.4	
	c%	24.5	68.0	50.0	43.2
Total		53	25	54	132
		40.2	18.9	40.9	100.0

Chi Square = 16.33; $p < .01$

TABLE 6

Summary of Discriminant Analysis for Influence of Sources: Nixon in Illinois

a.

Function	Variance	Lambda	Chi Square	pLT
First	66.76	0.7673	52.72	.001
Second	33.24	0.9134		.05

b.
Group Centroids

Group	Functions 1st	2nd
Under-predictors	0.43627	-0.10434
Image voters	-0.09862	0.29123
Over-predictors	-0.28558	-0.28430

c.
Discriminant Function Coefficients

Variable	Functions 1st	2nd
Age	0.07432	0.46837
Radio news	-0.30671	0.13013
Television news	-0.21202	0.26312
Campaign workers	0.21369	-0.12479
Candidates	-0.02211	0.58503
Radio advertising	0.33330	0.08846
Public officials	-0.11344	-0.46934
Party	-0.43885	0.15094
Strength of affiliation	0.17143	0.22261

d.
Group Means

Under	Image	Over
48.87	46.28	39.94*
2.33	2.71	2.60
3.37	3.84	3.67
2.13	1.82	1.78
3.22	3.59	3.16
2.27	2.17	1.96
2.25	2.08	2.43
1.47	1.98	2.11*
5.15	4.97	4.30*

*Significant univariate F-ratios, $p < .05$

Generally, how much do you think your opinions about the candidates and the issues have been influenced this year by each of these sources of information? friends, relatives, newspapers, news magazines, radio news, television news, campaign workers, political campaign literature, candidates, television campaign advertising, radio campaign advertising, public officials, spouse (a lot, quite a bit, hard to say, not very much, not at all).

TABLE 7

Summary of Discriminant Analysis for Information Seeking: Nixon in Illinois

a.

Function	Variance	Lambda	Chi Square	pLT
First	65.17	0.8266	37.89	.001
Second	34.83	0.9347	13.40	.05

b.
Group Centroid

Group	Functions 1st	2nd
Under-predictors	0.41603	-0.12037
Image voters	-0.00602	0.18528
Over-predictors	-0.38840	-0.12653

c.
Discriminant Function Coefficients

Variable	Functions 1st	2nd
Friends	0.25396	0.19166
Newspapers	-0.26807	-0.28805
News magazines	0.21035	0.34250
Television news	-0.07140	0.37164
Public official	-0.17866	-0.29691
Party	-0.76306	0.16257
Strength of affiliation	0.31859	0.15014

d.
Group Means

Under	Image	Over
2.83	2.90	2.56
3.30	3.39	3.49
2.82	3.15	2.84
3.65	4.02	3.79
2.57	2.44	2.71
1.47	1.99	2.14*
5.15	4.95	4.37

*Significant univariate F-ratios, $p < .05$

If you were going to vote tomorrow and wanted some more information about the candidates and issues, how helpful do you think each of these sources of information would be? friends, relatives, newspaper, radio news, news magazines, television news, political campaign literature, public officials, campaign workers (very helpful, some help, hard to say, not very helpful, not at all helpful)

TABLE 8

Summary of Discriminant Analysis for Source Believability:
Illinois Governor

a.

Function	Variance	Lambda	Chi Square	pLT
First	61.00	0.8571	32.27	.001
Second	39.00	0.9387	12.72	.05

b.
Group Centroids

Group	Functions 1st	2nd
Under-predictors	-0.13427	-0.15510
Image voters	-0.05346	0.20120
Over-predictors	0.27326	-0.05645

c.
Discriminant Function Coefficients

Variable	Functions 1st	2nd
Age	0.25203	-0.05370
Television	0.39370	0.50039
Newspapers	-0.30118	-0.12241
Telephone	0.15477	0.12569
Party	0.39152	-0.42158

d.
Group Means

Under	Image	Over
42.63	45.39	48.83
3.40	3.81	3.75*
3.55	3.64	3.47
2.22	2.39	2.49*
1.82	1.57	2.08

*Significant univariate F-ratios, $p < .05$

Tell me how believable the information you are getting is from each of these sources: people, television, newspapers, magazines, political mail, radio, telephone campaign messages (very believable, somewhat believable, hard to say, slightly believable, not at all believable)

TABLE 9

Summary of Discriminant Analysis for Influence of Sources: Illinois Governor

a.

Function	Variance	Lambda	Chi Square	pLT
First	67.27	0.7666	50.50	.001
Second	32.73	0.9143	17.02	.05

b.
Group Centroids

Group	Functions 1st	2nd
Under-predictors	-0.03525	0.43788
Image voters	0.28483	-0.23667
Over-predictors	-0.34447	-0.34299

c.
Discriminant Function Coefficients

Variable	Functions 1st	2nd
Age	-0.21869	-0.91961
Radio news	0.12834	-0.64914
Television news	0.40337	-0.16302
Candidates	-0.06249	-0.55888
Television advertising	-0.30912	-0.73195
Radio advertising	-0.05485	0.69939
Spouse	-0.21217	-0.16413
Party	-0.41283	-0.00237
Strength of affiliation	0.17324	-0.08133

d.
Group Means

Under	Image	Over
44.14	47.54	50.42
2.35	2.79	2.48
3.42	3.94	3.52*
3.06	3.36	3.50
2.55	2.74	3.04
2.12	2.16	2.24
2.23	2.11	2.60
1.83	1.56	2.04*
4.73	5.13	4.80

*Significant univariate F-ratio, $p < .05$

Generally, how much do you think your opinions about the candidates and the issues have been influenced this year by each of these sources of information? friends, relatives, newspapers, news magazines, radio news, television news, campaign workers, political campaign literature, candidates, television campaign advertising, radio campaign advertising, public officials, spouse (a lot, quite a bit, hard to say, not very much, not at all)

TABLE 10

Summary of Discriminant Analysis for Information Seeking:
Missouri Governor

a.

Function	Variance	Lambda	Chi Square	pLT
First	80.19	0.7969	26.57	.05

b.
Group Centroids

Group	First Function
Under-predictors	0.17169
Image voters	0.77152
Over-predictors	-0.40415

c.
Discriminant Function Coefficients

d.
Group Means

Variable	First Function	Under	Image	Over
Age	0.35596	42.60	50.67	37.83
Newspapers	-0.58691	3.35	3.20	3.85
Television news	0.49775	3.73	4.33	3.77
Party	-0.38346	1.89	2.00	2.22
Strength of affiliation	0.58392	5.82	6.13	5.48

If you were going to vote tomorrow and wanted some more information about the candidates and issues, how helpful do you think each of these sources of information would be? friends, relatives, newspapers, radio news, news magazines, television news, political campaign literature, public officials, campaign workers (very helpful, some help, hard to say, not very helpful, not at all helpful)

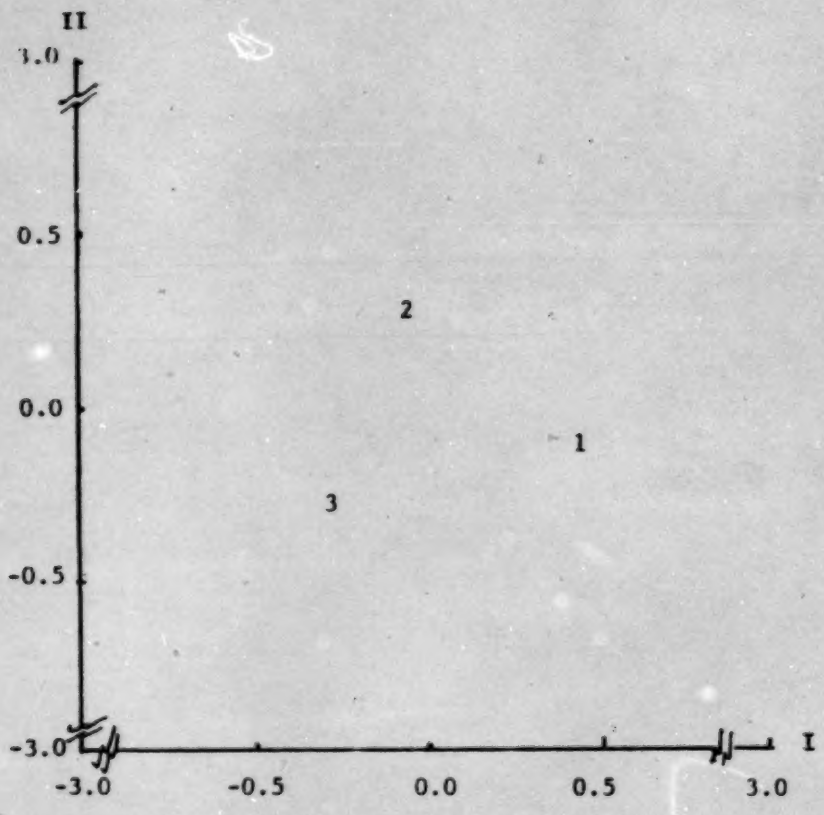

FIGURE 1. Plot of group centroids for perceived influence of sources in the Nixon Image voter analysis in Illinois. The first function, horizontal axis, discriminates between the Under-predictors (1) and the Over-predictors (3). The second function discriminates between the Image voters (2) and the Over-predictors (3).

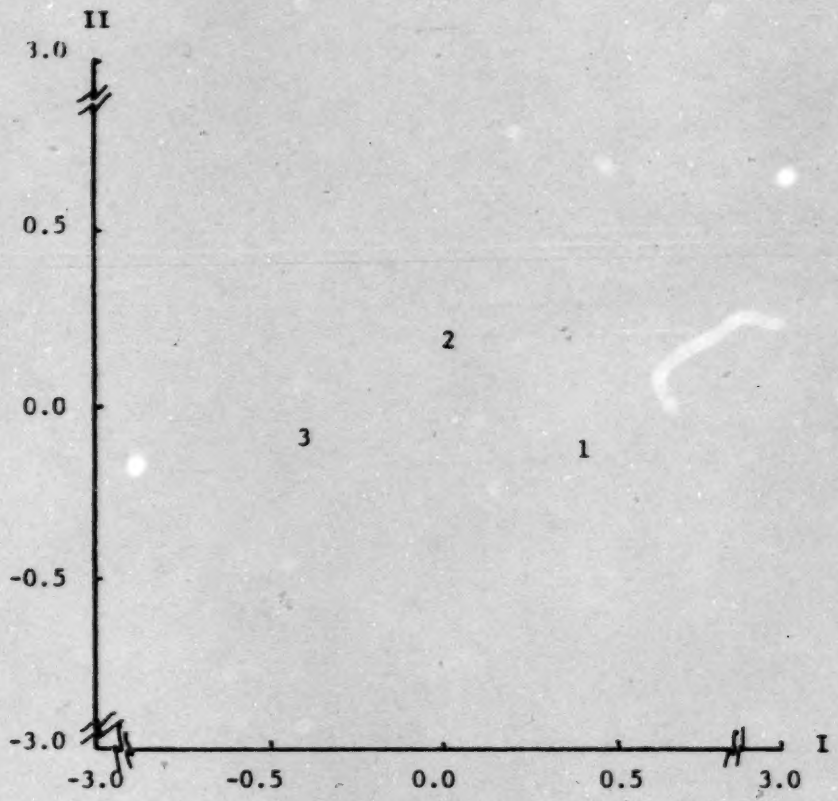

FIGURE 2. Plot of group centroids for perceived usefulness of sources for seeking political information in the Nixon Image voter analysis in Illinois. The first function, the horizontal axis, discriminates the Under-predictors (1) from the Over-predictors (3). The second function discriminates the Image voters (2) from the Under-predictors (1).

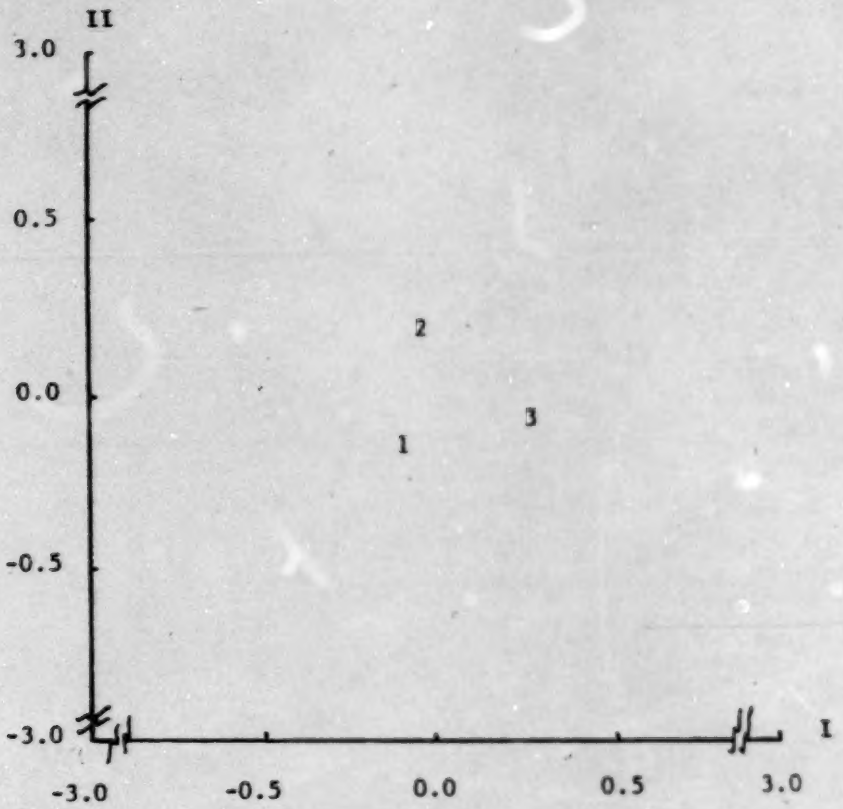

FIGURE 3. Plot of group centroids for perceived source believability in the Illinois gubernatorial Image voter analysis. The first function, horizontal axis, discriminates between the Over-predictors (3) and the Under-predictors (1). The second function discriminates between the Image voters (2) and the Under-predictors (1).

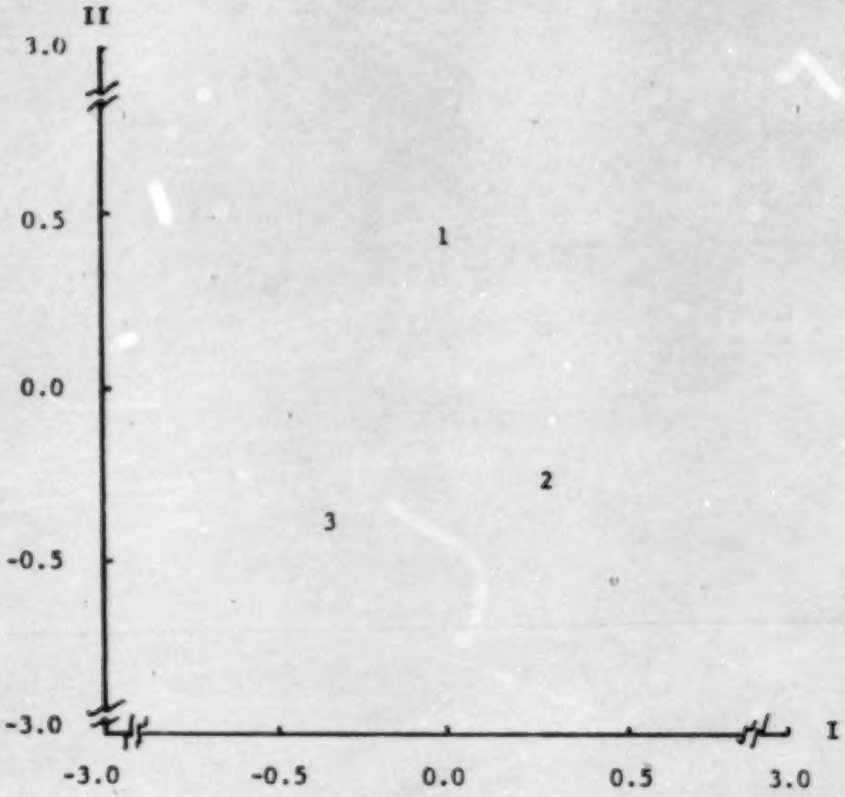

FIGURE 4. Plots of group centroids for perceived source influence in the Illinois gubernatorial Image voter analysis. The first function, horizontal axis, discriminates between the Image voters (2) and the Over-predictors (3). The second function discriminates between the Under-predictors (1) and the Over-predictors (3).

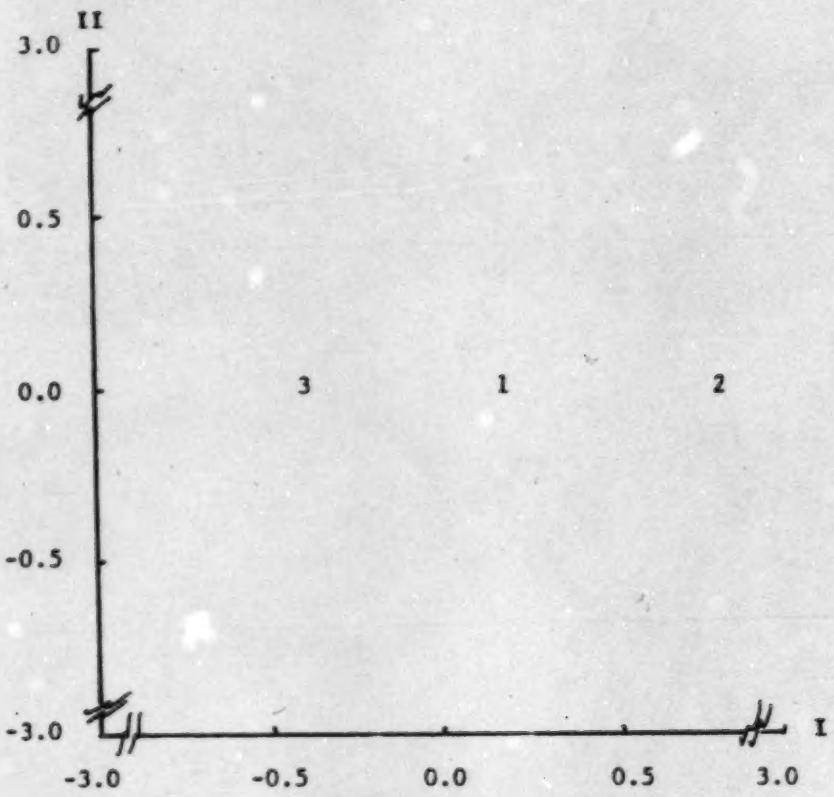

FIGURE 5. Plot of group centroids for perceived usefulness of sources in seeking political information in the Missouri gubernatorial Image voter analysis. The first function, horizontal axis, discriminates between the Image voters (2) and the Over-predictors (3). The second function is non-significant.